

came so weak as to be unable to reach his only but disagreeable beverage, the water. The feelings of hunger left him about the second day, which may be attributed, in some measure, to the astringent quality of the water. When found, he was extended on the ground, and lying on his breast, nearly extinct, his extremities cold, and his voice reduced almost to a whisper, or childish treble, and his enunciation so weak as to make him a complete personification of the *Anatomic Viceroy*. His dark unshaven beard, sunken features, and glistening eyes, had given him an unearthly appearance.—Generally great danger arises from imprudently giving food too freely to persons who have suffered from abstinence; but in Brown's case, his brother laborers cautiously first lubricated his parched mouth with butter, then gave him milk and arrowroot, and sherry in small spoonfuls, at regular intervals, milk being the first thing he asked for when he was discovered. His pulse is regular and strong, and his tongue clean and moist; indeed, there is hope of his ultimate recovery, should he receive sufficient nourishment in the same cautious way. When Dr. Hill, the minister of the parish, visited him, he put out his hand to the reverend doctor, and asked him to return thanks to God for his deliverance. He feels much pleased at the interest his case has excited in the country, and he bestows a ghastly smile of satisfaction on the numerous gazers whom the circumstance has drawn from considerable distances to the humble cottage where he now lies. On a former occasion, he was entombed in a coal pit for three days and three nights, and we have been informed that he once suffered shipwreck.

[Age Observer.]
The *Age* advertiser says:—"We regret much to state that the threat of an existence so wonderfully preserved, amid circumstances of horrors and privations almost incredible, has at last broken. Hopes had been entertained, that by careful and judicious treatment, his strength might be gradually regained, and his ultimate recovery secured; but his frame had been so completely wasted by want, as to be unable to rally its feeble powers, and he sunk into death without any appearance of pain, on the night of the 3d instant."

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI,

Wednesday Morning, January 19, 1842.

HARD TIMES.

For the last six years, the financial concerns of the nation, have been in a complete state of disorder. "Hard times, and still harder," has been the universal cry from year to year. The affairs of the country have steadily gone down hill. Bankruptcy has swept the land like a tornado. Public defaulters have multiplied; private virtue has given way. Man has lost confidence in man. The obligation of contracts is lightly regarded; and it is no longer disgraceful to refuse to pay one's debts. Bankers have set an example of loose faith and lawlessness, in their determined suspension of specie payments—the refusal to redeem their notes. Sovereign States have given their sanction to dishonesty, by adopting the principle of repudiation. Abroad, the credit of the nation has sunk, and we are sneeringly pointed at, by the enemies of republicanism, as a striking example of the bad influence of Democracy on private and public virtue. Party spirit has nearly destroyed personal independence. All public questions of importance, even those respecting fundamental rights, are regarded through the medium of party, and decided as they may affect party interests. Leaders of the two parties do not seek power, that they may settle for the good of the country great questions of public policy, so much as they agitate these questions for the sake of obtaining power. With rare exceptions, *Self*, not *Country*, is the centre and circumference of their hopes and fears.

If these evils were consequent on some great measure of change which in its ultimate results would bring a stable prosperity, a higher public virtue, they might be borne without murmuring. But such is not the fact. Or, if any plan of probable relief were held out by either party, hope of better days might mitigate present suffering. Such is not the fact. The whole country is torn with internal dissensions about the causes and remedies of its disorders; but notwithstanding the experimenting of parties, all is uncertainty and vacillation.

Revert to the last presidential canvass:—the evils portrayed above were then felt, and the country demanded a change, as if a change without principles could be beneficial. Still it was effected with whirlwind force, and what are the results? Are the times easier? Is confidence restored? Is there less party spirit? Is there less party corruption? Is there any nearer approach towards harmony in our national councils? Is there more certainty in the projects of either party?

It was alleged, that the Democratic Executive was overgrown in power, and had encroached on the independence of Congress. Has this power been shorn of its strength by the Whigs? Has the purse yet been separated from the sword? Has not their president used the veto power twice within a few months, and has he not been called upon by a Whig Congress, to participate in legislation, by laying before them a plan of a national bank?

Poinsett's standing army plan was clamored against, as indicating dangerous designs on the part of the Executive. Mr. Spencer's plan to establish a line of military posts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and Mr. Upshur's, to equip a navy at least half as large as that of Great Britain, by which the productive resources of the country would be taxed annually only \$25,000,000, meet with condemnation now chiefly from the Democratic prints—those prints which could see nothing to censure in Poinsett's plan.

The Florida war or negro hunt was to be ended immediately, by an administration elected by the people. It is not yet ended, nor is it likely to be, and the Secretary of war talks of the poor savages in the same spirit that dictated the importation of blood hounds under Democratic rule. And one of the first acts of the Whig administration,

is to appoint, as Governor, the very man, who was the instrument of a Democratic administration, in bringing these four-footed auxiliaries of American troops from Cuba.

What has been done for the right of petition? What for the abolition of the slave-trade? Are our cruisers more active than they used to be? What has been done in the way of retrenchment? Is not our public debt on the increase? What has been done for the advancement of free labor interests? Any markets attempted to be opened by negotiation? What mighty good was wrought by the extra session? Who of the farmers of the West is the gainer by the bankrupt law? What fruit has yet been reaped, or is likely to be reaped from the Distribution act?

What, we repeat, are the results of the whirlwind change? Prolonged instability; increased uncertainty; a further postponement of the great question, which must be met and settled, before the country can have peace.

And the strife for power is again aroused: ambitious men are marshalling their hosts for the conflict, and the same field must be gone over. We have not heard that any new light has dawned on either party. The Sub-treasury is the panacea of the Democrats—a Protective tariff the cure-all of the Whigs. A year ago, it was a national bank—the country would be utterly ruined without it. This project seems in a fair way to be abandoned, and the cry is, "A Tariff is the only remedy for hard times"—and this too from the very men, who declared twelve months since, that nothing but a United States bank would save it!

Is this state of things to continue forever? Is there to be no end to these experiments? Have we not enjoyed the benefit of the lead of Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, long enough to test its worth? Suppose the people take the matter into their own hands, and inquire whether there may not be other causes of their distress than those generally indicated—other remedies than those yet devised—other counsellors, than men whose experiments have failed to disclose the true prosperity of the country.

Suppose we should ascribe the evils the nation is now suffering, chiefly to three causes: *Speculation, Extravagance, and Slavery*; and should indicate for these, three remedies: *Labor, Emancipation, and Abolition*? How far should we be from the truth?

He, who buys land one day at less than its value, and sells it the next, for more, is a mere drone in the hive. He preys on others, but produces nothing. He, who buys new land, lays out town plots, and by extravagant fabrications, induces people to buy his lots for ten times their real worth, lives on the labor of others, produces nothing, and is a swindler. He, who, in a career of extravagant enterprise, stimulates any trade, or business by the prospect of great temporary profits, to a point where revulsion must ensue, and hundreds be driven from employment, wastes the productive energies of the community. He, who in any way, lives on the weakness, or ignorance, or necessities, of his fellow citizens, is a cause of "hard times."

In how many ways has speculation, aided by the facilities of a badly regulated credit system, brought ruin upon individuals and communities!

The remedy for this is, *make not haste to be rich—let every man labor with his own hands*. The violators of these precepts have swarmed like the locusts of Egypt. Have we not all been guilty of shameful extravagance, an extravagance stimulated also, by an inflated credit system? To this particular cause more than any other, are we to look for the great excess of our importations, to pay for which the country must now be drained of its specie. If we had used home-spun, where we have used broadcloth, the merchant would not have purchased so freely from the importer, nor the importer from abroad. States have partaken of the general spirit, and in their immense loans for works of internal improvement, placed themselves in a situation, where the redemption of their debts is almost equivalent to impoverishment.

Will a Tariff cure this spirit? Will it prevent us from going into debt, for what we can do without? Will a Sub-treasury, or any restriction of the credit system, hinder us from purchasing more than we have the means to pay for? They may indeed lessen our temptations, but the radical remedy for this extravagance, is to be found alone in ourselves. We must learn to practice a rigid economy.

But, Labor and Economy among the people of the free States will not prevent the recurrence of hard times, so long as the chief market for their productions is at the South, and slavery continues to exist there.

In the North, the great mass of the people are producers, and producers of the best sort, being stimulated by all the incentives belonging to a free labor system. In the slave states, one half of the population is non-productive, living upon the labor of the other half, which, from the very nature of slavery, is far less productive than free labor. But the laborers are not only less productive, the consumers are more wasteful and extravagant. The slave himself has no idea of economy, and the master despises it, as niggardly. The result must be, an excess of consumption over production. Now, when it is recollected, that the free States are to a great extent dependent for a market on the slave States, and that these consume more than they produce, the conclusion is inevitable, that there must be periodical crises, when the planter will settle his debts by insolvency, so that he may begin anew. In what other way are the immense losses sustained by the North in Southern trade, to be accounted for? Who does not know the vast indebtedness at this time of the slave to the free states, and that their inability to pay their debts has involved the North in bankruptcy, and been one chief cause of the derangement in our currency? Now what

ever markets may be opened for the free States abroad, the South will always be a large consumer of their products—so that there is but one remedy for this evil, and that is, *abolition—THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE POPULATION*. Turn the slaves into free laborers, and the results will be, more labor, more thrift, more enterprise, more skill, consequently more production, and from the multiplied wants of the free laborer, more consumption. Hence, a safer and larger market will at once be secured at the South.

We say then, that the Liberty Party is the only party which holds out any hopes of solid relief to the country.

OHIO LUNATIC ASYLUM.

We are under obligation to Dr. Smith, assistant physician of the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, for a copy of the third annual report of this institution. It is an exceedingly interesting document, and abounds in numerous instructive tables, which furnish materials for reflection.

The whole number of patients admitted up to the close of the year ending November 15, 1841, was 343, of whom 186 were males, 157 females. It would seem, that single persons are more liable to insanity than married. 171 of the 343 were single, and only 135 married. The per cent. of recoveries on the recent cases discharged is highly flattering, being 86.11. On the old cases, as might be expected, it is but 33.23.

There have been rather fewer deaths the present year, than former ones, the per cent. being 9.79. The number admitted during the year ending November 15, is 85,—males 48, females 37; and the average number of patients for the year has been 143.

The per cent. of recoveries on the recent cases discharged this year, is a little higher than the average for three years past—being 87.17. The present number in the asylum is 142—males 76, females 66—old cases 119, recent cases, 23. Of these the prospect seems to be—favorable for 26; doubtful for 24; unfavorable for 57; unfavorable for 33, who are nevertheless improved.

From the tables given for three years, of the ages of patients when admitted, it would seem that from twenty to thirty, man is more liable to insanity, than at any other period of life. Of the whole number, (343,) admitted, 137 ranged between these two points.

Six-sevenths of the whole number admitted were from 20 to 59 years of age.

The causes in 46 cases were unknown. The rest were chiefly attributable to intemperance, puerperal complaints, ill health of various kinds, epilepsy, masturbation, constitutional predisposition, and causes connected with religious excitement. These last stand highest in the list of causes; 41 cases being ascribed to them. In 23 cases, intemperance was the cause. Political excitement is indicated as a cause in but one instance, from which we should infer that, after all the bitterness of party strife, and the bluster of politicians, politics has not taken hold on the deep feelings of our population generally. In but one out of 25 cases caused by intemperance, was the patient a female. In all but two of the cases brought on by masturbation, and all but two of those occasioned by epilepsy, the patients were males. In the cases arising from religious excitement, the proportion of men to women was as five to three. This too, notwithstanding woman is peculiarly susceptible to religious emotions. The fair inference from this fact, and two others just stated is, that her moral nature is incomparably better balanced than that of man. Cases, the most curable, are those produced by intemperance—the most inveterate are those arising from masturbation and epilepsy. Epileptic mania is seldom remedied. The table shows that 2 recoveries out of 20 in three years. In 18 out of 25 of those produced by intemperance, cures were effected. Of the 41 religious maniacs, 26 were discharged as cured. In all the other cases, the proportion of the incurable was greater than that of the curable.

The chances of curing insanity depend to a great extent upon the time the patient has been affected. Of 136 cases admitted, of less than one year's duration, 113 recovered. Of 56 of from one to two years' duration, twenty-one were restored: of 76 of from two to five only 11. In no case of longer standing than twenty years, was a cure accomplished.

The principal form of the affliction was mania. Of the melancholy variety there were 48 cases; of the homicidal, but 5.

The disorders which have proved fatal have sprung from bowel derangement more than any other single cause;—diarrhea, dysentery and marasmus, having caused 19 out of 36 deaths. Of the 343, 52 were mechanics, 29 laborers, 68 farmers, and but 3 merchants, and 4 lawyers. It is a fact worthy of note, that not one of them all was a physician.

An interesting table is given showing the proportion of the number of insane in the several states, from which it appears, that it is greater in the old than in the new States.

The Yankees send out crowds of emigrants, but maniacs and idiots stay at home. Hence the proportion in the New England States is particularly large. In New Hampshire, it is, 1 to 563; Massachusetts, 1 to 580; Rhode Island, 1 to 503; Connecticut, 1 to 572. But, there must be, we presume, great errors in this table. We do not believe that the returns from the new states, and from the slave states particularly, are correct. Comparing the Atlantic free states with the Atlantic slave states, the proportion of insane and idiots is far larger in the former, although it is well known that of colored persons, the proportion of insane and idiots is 820, of whites, 1 to 1000. The great mass of the colored population being at the South, the disparity between the white people of the two sections, in the relative number of their insane, is out of all proportion. The proportion in Massachusetts, for example, is 1 to 580; that

in South Carolina, is 1 to 1,158, and in Georgia, 1 to 1,615. The returns from these states are evidently imperfect. In Louisiana, the proportion is 1 to 3,524; in Ohio, 1 to 1,117. Perhaps this disproportion may be owing to the fact, that a larger proportion of the population of Louisiana is from abroad. Still, we are inclined to think, that the returns are imperfect.

It is greatly to be regretted that for want of room so many applications for admission must be rejected. No less than one hundred and sixty-seven applications from the state have been refused since the opening of the institution. Measures ought certainly to be taken to provide additional room, so that its benefits may be still further diffused.

THE COLUMBUS CONVENTION.

The Columbus Freeman, a daily paper, edited in Columbus by Captain Duffey, has hoisted the Liberty standard. The paper has always been independent, and fearless in its tone, and it certainly is none the less so, for this change. Not long since, its editor placed the name of Henry Clay at the head of his paper, thus indicating his choice for a President. The Statesman runs him a little about giving in his adhesion to the Liberty Party, and yet supporting the claims of a slaveholder. The Captain comes out and shows what Henry Clay's sentiments were in the beginning of his career on the question of slavery, and announces, that, if this statesman will make himself now subservient to the designs of the Slave Power, he will not—he will maintain his independence, and his devotion to the interests of freedom. This is the right spirit. Right principles, first, and above all—men, only so long as they adhere to them. How deplorable has been the defection of Henry Clay!

We hope Captain Duffey will be sustained, in the manly decision he has made. He is a very agreeable writer, an honest man, and a poor one—and deserves the support of the friends of Liberty.

NOTICES OF THE LIBERTY CONVENTION.

Nearly all the newspapers in Ohio have noticed the Liberty State Convention—few disrespectfully, many in courteous terms. We publish specimens on our first page. We regret to see the contemptuous and very incorrect account of the Ohio State Journal copied into a few journals. The misstatements of that paper, with regard to the number in attendance, the divisions of the Convention, the little interest with which it was regarded by the citizens, are so palpably at variance with truth, that we cannot but deem them wilful. The statements of some of his whig brethren of the press, who were present, and can have no interest in representing things favorable to us, directly contradict his account. See the notices. The Cincinnati Republican, the Tyler organ, weaker than the administration it advocates, threatens to comment on the Address, unless certain papers quit noticing it approvingly. This is laughable.

"WHIG TO THE CORE."

A contemporary thus characterizes the Liberty Convention address. We are glad it pleases him—but some of our democratic friends are uneasy, because it advocates a purer democracy than theirs. We call the address a genuine democratic address—it is full of democracy, but not the democracy of those who seek power by alliance with slavery. We have taken the foundation principles of the democratic party, and only differ from that, in applying them with logical and moral fidelity.

SIGNS.

As signs of the times, we call the attention of our readers to two articles on our first page, one on the financial power of slavery, from the Pittsburg Gazette, one of the best political papers in Pittsburg, the other from the Clinton Republican, a spirited political journal in Clinton county.

The appeals of anti-slavery men, founded on the economical and political evils of slavery, have not been fruitless. They have started in many a mind new trains of thought, that will at last result in appropriate action.

The following from the New Harmony Disseminator, a political paper, is another indication of the awakening spirit of the North.

"*NOBILITY OF LABOR*.—A well written article has been going the rounds of the papers on the 'Nobility of Labor.' It is a good subject, and recommends a true democratic doctrine. For democracy only values a man in proportion to his usefulness. If he is too proud or too idle to labor, affects superiority over those who do labor because his circumstances do not render it necessary for him to labor, he may be kind, and generous, and affable, and benevolent, but he cannot be a true republican democrat. The lower the price of labor the more depreciable will it become, and nothing has, nothing can degrade labor so much as involuntary or slave labor. Personal industry, therefore, can never be accounted a great virtue in a slave State. Labor is dishonored in the ignorance and servility of those who perform it. Setting aside, therefore, the true equality of rights, which democracy allows to all men, it does not appear possible for slaveholders to be true consistent democrats because their laborers are slaves, and with them their occupation necessarily becomes degraded.

Where labor is despised industry cannot triumph, and this accounts for the accelerated progress made in all the free States in population, in wealth, and in general improvement. It is not a fact that the State of New York has, in the last half century, gained five hundred per cent. in population over the proud State of Virginia. And this is evidently because, in the former, labor and industry, are held in proper esteem, and are rewarded. While in the latter there is no independence to gain, no motive to excel. In Virginia and the slave States, as in the old world, idleness in the rich is held a greater virtue, than industry in the poor."

A good article. As for the last saying, we may remark, that however highly charity may be esteemed in slave states, it is comparatively little practiced, judging from its fruits. If any one will take the trouble to compare the charitable institutions of the North with those of the South, and the amounts given in both regions for benevolent purposes, he will appreciate the truth of the remark. We do not deny to slaveholders, the credit of generosity, in numerous instances, but, very few of them, compared with the men who labor with their own hands, possess that charity which acts from principle, rather than impulse, and is systematic and persevering in its efforts to meliorate the condition of a fellow-being.

ther than impulse, and is systematic and persevering in its efforts to meliorate the condition of a fellow-being.

MOB IN CINCINNATI.

As our paper was going to press last week, we barely had room to announce the existence of another mob in Cincinnati.

For a long while past, there has been a nest of unprincipled bankers and brokers in this place, who have been swindling the people by imposing upon them a spurious currency. This cause, with the explosion of the Lebanon and Miami banking concern, had prepared the way for violence, which broke out on the morning of the 11th, on occasion of the failure of the Miami Exporting Company, and the suspension of the Bank of Cincinnati.

The mob was numerous, and the people looked on, many approvingly, the rest in apathy. In broad day light, in the very centre of the business part of the city, the mob deliberately prosecuted its work, and gutted four establishments—the offices of the two banks just named, and those of the Exchange, and Savings Bank of Louisville.

Papers and books were destroyed, money seized, and valuable property carried off. The Mayor was sick. The Sheriff attempted to quell the riot, but found but five men who would second him.

The riot act was read, but the reader was hustled off the ground, and barely escaped with a whole skin.

The military companies were called out, but refused to come, except twelve men of Captain Mitchell's company, who marched to the ground under the sheriff's orders, were judged insufficient to suppress the mob, and, after firing once or twice in self-defence, were marched off by order of the sheriff, under a shower of brick-bats.

The City Council were called together; only eleven came, that number being necessary to pass an ordinance, and one of them voted against an ordinance for the organization of a police; so that nothing was done by the Council. The citizens met at 3 o'clock, at the College Hall, passed resolutions, and adjourned to the place of disorder, organizing around the scene of destruction, so as to prevent any from going in, but made no efficient effort to suppress the mob.

A few arrests were made, but the work of plunder and destruction was continued, till the mob adjourned, in mere satiety;—and the city was left in quiet.

A few months since, we announced that there was no law in Cincinnati—no security for person or property, other than the mob chose to grant. The rest of the papers in this place generally, have at last come to the same conclusion.

An attempt was made after the September mobs to organize citizen guards, but the Council would give it no encouragement; neither would it take any other measures for the security of the city. There is an awful apprehension in the minds of some of our patriots, that the rights of the citizen would be endangered by an efficient police! A blind, capricious, raging mob is not half so dangerous, as a well ordered police, under the control of the constituted authorities of the city, who are responsible to the people for the use of their authority! All this barefaced hypocrisy. Those, who affect so much tenderness for the rights of the people, are whining demagogues, and the real supporters of mobocracy.

The Cincinnati Enquirer talks in its usual courtly style of the men of violence. The mob was "the people," the "multitude"—it cannot see the justice of calling Cincinnati the "Mob City"—the people are not disposed to disregard law and order! Oh no! Two mobs within four months, one ruling in undisputed mastery, for two days, destroying houses, assailing persons, and breaking up two presses; the other, demolishing and plundering in broad daylight—while the police is inactive, and the people fold their hands in apathy, and the council refuse to act, and the very courts of justice by their gross decisions wink at violence—all this clearly establishes the claim of Cincinnati to the title of a law-abiding city!

Three persons were injured in this last mob by the discharge of fire-arms; but it is said they were all innocent! And according to the same authority, those who were injured during the September mobs, were all innocent! Who can doubt it? Some have it that all dead persons are saints—is it any wonder that all persons injured during mob times, by the exercise of the civil power, are harmless unoffending creatures!

A few words more. The spirit of lawlessness is not confined to the mob. When banks in violation of law suspend specie payment—when brokers in violation of law, swindle the community with their wretched shin plasters—when the legislature of the state, pretending to principles of reform, session after session, abstains from any measure calculated to correct these grievances—when our courts of justice let off ringleaders of mobs with 24 hours imprisonment, and one dollar fine, it is not to be wondered at, that the turbulent part of the community should feel emboldened to violate all law. There is little difference between the man who mobs, and the man who, standing aloof, winks at violence. There is small difference between the mob, and the legislature that allows wrongs to reach such a pitch, as to provoke mob-violence. There is little difference between the mob, and the court of justice that fails to enforce the laws against its ringleaders, when their guilt is demonstrated. There is little difference between the mob, and the council, which is so tender of the rights of the citizens, that it will do nothing to protect them against mob violence. And the chief difference between a shin plaster swindler and a mobocrat is, that one wrongs the public by fraud, and assails the

majesty of law by a trick, and the other wrongs the public by force, and strikes at the majesty of the law by violence.

Let the work of universal reform be commenced. Let the legislature, instead of making great public questions subordinate to party interests, promptly take measures for the correction of public grievances—let corporations be compelled to be as honest as individuals—let our country inflict the rigid penalties of the law against law-breakers of whatever kind—let the orderly citizen, whatever his feelings, whatever the wrongs sought to be redressed, lay his hand on violence, whenever attempted—let the press not outrage decency by terming a vile mob, "the sovereign people"—and let the city council take immediate measures for organizing an efficient police, and giving it an efficient head—let all this be done, and we shall have peace, every man may then sleep in security—and not before.

PARTIES.

Were certain leaders of the democratic and whig parties to die to-morrow, these parties would hardly cohere one year. Men, not principles, are the bands of their respective organizations. There is no such radical difference between them as to prevent their amalgamation, were it not the interest of their leaders to magnify differences, and keep them apart.

Are the Democrats as a party opposed to banking institutions? No—but they go for bank-reform. They would place them under restraints calculated to secure the public against the effects of mismanagement. So would the Whigs. The chief point on which they differ, is that of individual liability. Is this of sufficient importance to afford reason for a party division?

The democrats are in favor of limiting the grant of corporate privileges, and throwing around them every necessary guard. So are the Whigs. If there be a difference between them on this subject, it is a difference in degree, not in principle. Is this just ground for party division?

The Democrats are in favor of suppressing the issue of spurious paper, and compelling the banks to resume specie payments. So are the Whigs. The only difference between them, in regard to the latter, is as to mode and time, not principle. Is here cause for party division?

The Democrats are opposed to incurring any additional debt for new works of internal improvement, but think it proper to provide means for completing those already begun. The Whigs, on this point, in this state, certainly concur with them. Why then draw party lines on such a question?

The Democrats at the late Convention in Columbus resolved, that the true policy of the United States is, to collect no revenue whatever beyond the sum absolutely necessary to conduct upon principles of strict economy, the legislative concerns of the General Government—but they did not resolve that within this limit, duties might not be regulated according to some discriminating standard. The Whigs profess to concur with them in their resolution, but think judicious discrimination expedient. As yet, on this question, no party division exists; but certain democratic prints in this state are striving to create one.

The only great question on which they really differ, relates to the custody and disbursement of the public revenue—the Democrats advocating a Sub-treasury, the Whigs inclining to a United States Bank—inclining, we say, for there are many among them opposed to it, and the rest appear to have desisted from urging it as a leading measure. So that their difference even on this question is not of sufficient magnitude to array them as parties against each other.

A careful analysis then of the differences between the two parties shows clearly, as we have already intimated, that men not principles divide them. Certain of their leaders have become identified with certain modes of policy, and it is their interest, and the interest of those who are looking to them for political advancement, to magnify these, make them appear irreconcilable, and widen the breach between their parties.—Thus are multitudes of honest people deceived; and made to believe they are fighting for principles, when they are only subserving the purposes of political aspirants. Is it not time that they should consider this matter and inquire, whether they may not harmonize on these ordinary questions, and whether party lines had not better be drawn on more important questions, such, for example, as those springing out of free and slave labor. These parties were organized with a view to the protection, not of great, fundamental rights, but of certain pecuniary interests. The rights of things rather than of persons, lie at their foundation.—They have been acting without accomplishing any good result, long enough to show, that their foundation is not sound—their policy inconclusive. Suppose those belonging to them, disenthralling themselves from the influence of great names, cast in their lot with the Liberty Party, which looks to the rights of persons rather than of things—which rests on the fundamental principles of civil liberty—which adopts the creed of the Declaration of Independence—which has inscribed on its folds, LIBERTY, EQUAL RIGHTS, PROTECTION TO FREE LABOR, GENERAL EDUCATION, PUBLIC ECONOMY.

POISONING.—Forty two persons have lately been poisoned in New York by eating smoked beef. It was of a bluish, unhealthy color, and is supposed to have been either from diseased animals, or spoiled before smoking. This case should put the people on their guard.

LEGISLATURES.—The Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and New York Legislatures, have lately commenced their sessions.

EXPORT OF SPECIE.—Fifteen millions of specie were exported from the United States during the fifteen months ending December 31st.

MON IN LOUISVILLE.—So soon as the news of the Cincinnati mob reached Louisville, a mob assembled, broke into the office of Lougee and co. in that city, gutted it, and were proceeding to demolish it, when they were dispersed by the Marshal.

This is not the first time the example of Cincinnati has stimulated the bad passions of other communities.

CONGRESS AND THE LEGISLATURE.—So far, nothing has been done either in Congress or the Legislature to relieve the distresses of the country. The people will at last find out the quackery of the present party leaders.

As an example of their wisdom, we may mention, that the Bankrupt Law, a much vaunted measure of the extra session, is likely to be repealed. A petition being presented on the 8th for the repeal, it was referred to the committee on the Judiciary, with instruction to report a bill in favor of the prayer, by a vote of 115 to 94. On the same day, Mr. Marshall of Kentucky presented two petitions for the repeal of the same law, and moved that the committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report a bill to this effect on the following Monday. The motion was carried by ayes, 112, noes 88.

The same precipitancy that characterized the action of Congress in the passage of the law, marks the attempt to repeal it. What is to be expected from such vacillation in legislation? It is disgraceful. All these movements go to show how little the present leaders of the parties understand the cause of the real evils of the country.

THINGS IN CINCINNATI.

We have for sometime been looking to our daily papers, for an exposure of a principal cause of mob rule in Cincinnati. At last we find it in the Daily Message, and shall copy it entire. The article is in all respects the best that has appeared respecting the mob. Other papers denounce the rioters; but are silent as to the delinquency of the city officers. The Message, with a courage unusual in this city, calls these gentlemen to account, and shows clearly that with them lies the chief blame. Justly does it remark, that a new organization would doubtless be of much benefit, but new men would be of more.

The Mayor pleads his want of authority over the police of the city. Let him show himself in the beginning of a mob, demand the aid of a voluntary police, place himself at its head, and he will see whether there is not spirit enough in Cincinnati to quell a riot.

The people want A HEAD—that is all. Give them a head, and there will be no need of the military. Much is said of the necessity of using fire-arms. We do not yet believe in their necessity. Our civil officers do their duty, use civil force, and always be in season, prompt as lightning, and no mob could for an instant make head-way in Cincinnati.

The Daily Message is on the right track.—We bid him God-speed in his purpose to arraign the officers of the city at the bar of public opinion—and let him not forget the council, if its imbecility has not sunk it beneath contempt.

Our City Police.

The Louisville Public Advertiser, in its account of the destruction of the fixtures and papers of Lougee and Moore's Exchange Office in that city, speaks of the conduct of the City Marshal in suppressing the disturbance, as "valiant and efficient." See the extract, in another article.

Had Cincinnati had a gallant and efficient City Marshal, upon the ground at the proper hour, where he ought to have been, and we suppose might have been, the disorders here on Tuesday last would have stopped with, at most, the partial destruction of the fixtures of the Cincinnati Bank. But, as has almost invariably been the case in this city of similar outbreaks, no high officer, neither Sheriff, Mayor nor Marshal, appeared upon the ground and made an attempt to suppress the violence, and disperse the perpetrators. There was no one to oppose them except with military force. About this fact, there can be no dispute. And until we have a more watchful, and a much more active police, no citizen, who is the least obnoxious to popular displeasure, can feel for a moment secure in either person or property.

After the Sheriff arrived, at the scene of disorder, we believe he did all that he could do to put down the tumult. He appealed repeatedly, threatened where it was dangerous to do so, and exposed his person for hours to the full fury of the mob. But he was too late. A tide of his exertions at the time Gilmore's Office was broken into, or even a quarter of an hour afterwards, would have routed the mob, and restored order. But no officer was present then, to interfere himself, or call upon others to do so.

The Mayor was at his office early enough to have stopped the destruction of any more property than the fixtures of the Cincinnati Bank; and it is believed by those who were present while this was under way, that had he appeared backed by a force of a dozen or twenty men, he might have put an end to the whole contest.—That he did not so appear in person, may be owing to the fact that he was somewhat indisposed. This, however, will not excuse his neglect to send promptly for the City Marshal, and in the absence of the messenger organized a force of constables and deputies to proceed under that officer to the scene of the depredations.

The Marshal, it is said, was at the Court House, having been subpoenaed there as a witness in a case which was to be tried that morning. For once, then, he was where his duty called him in good time. Our Courts, however, do not open till 9 o'clock in the morning, whereas the mob had begun to collect some time before the arrival of that hour. But leaving out of view the question whether he saw any business at the Court House so early, we have another question to ask. Did he leave there on the instant being informed that a mob had collected about the office of an obnoxious citizen, and proceed to the Mayor's Office, or to the property threatened with destruction, for the purpose of preventing violence? We have reason to believe that he did not.—And if he did not, what excuse has he to offer for such a dereliction of duty?

Of the several constables of the city, we have but a word, at this time, to say. All of them are not personally known to us. Generally, we believe, they are men who, under a good lead, would not be found deficient in either courage or activity. One or two of them, in the latter part of the day, we saw doing their duty.

That our city police organization is very defective, all persons acknowledge. But does it not appear highly probable, from recent occurrences here, that the defect is not in the organization alone? For our part, we believe such to be the fact. A new organization would doubtless be of much benefit, but new men would be of more.

This subject must be looked into. Too much is at stake for our citizens to rest quietly under the present condition of things. Mob rule must be put down, and kept down. It is in the ascendancy here now. It has been so for months. At this present moment, it slumbers only from exhaustion. Who knows but that he may be its next victim?

Slaveholder manufacturers are not the only class of our citizens who are obnoxious to such men as were prime movers in the late outrages. Persons were arrested ma-

king off with money which they had plundered from the vault of one of the banks destroyed. Their crime is grand larceny: its punishment imprisonment in the penitentiary. They must be tried. The law must be satisfied. They will have friends, most likely relatives, present when judgment is pronounced upon them. What is to hinder these from rushing upon the court, beating down its officers, and rescuing the prisoners? Certainly not any fear of the police. They have yet to make themselves an object of terror. Will the sanctity of the Judiciary do it? Alas, this has been "reached," and is gone!

[FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.] WANTS OF THE TREASURY, CASE OF THE CREOLE.

Saturday, Jan. 8, 1842.

The condition of the Federal Treasury at the present moment is a matter worthy of profound study by the statesman, as well as of deep interest to the people of this nation. Some time ago, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Fillmore, announced to the House that the Treasury was entirely empty. The bill passed in such haste to secure the Hon. M. C.'s, their own wages, has failed of its anticipated effect. Nothing is to be had even by the members but Treasury Notes, which are selling at a discount in New York, even though bearing interest at six per cent. On Wednesday, Jan. 5, Mr. Gilmore was able, with some difficulty, to get the floor and the ear of the House, to introduce, on leave by general consent, a bill to authorize an issue of Treasury Notes. A general laugh was raised by the reading of the title, as the members resorted to the earnest and protracted resistance of the whig members to the issue of Treasury notes, at the last winter session. The bill authorizes the emission of an additional five millions of Treasury Notes, this authority to cease at the end of one year, or on the realization of a permanent loan.

Mr. Stuart, of Illinois, moved to lay the bill on the table. He said the necessities of the government required that something should be done speedily, and therefore he did not wish to see time wasted on this project—which he believed a majority of members were committed against.

Mr. Cost Johnson said he should vote against laying on the table without discussion, although he should vote against the bill on its passage.

The motion to lay on the table was lost, yeas 33, nays 163, and the bill was referred to the Committee on the Whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Accompanying the bill was a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, stating that the deficiency in the Treasury during the first quarter of this year would amount to nearly four millions of dollars, that he had by private correspondence at New York and Boston, ascertained that there was no probability of being able to negotiate a loan for half that amount, even if the time of payment should be extended to twelve years. The Secretary concludes that, "so long as the present state of the money market shall continue, the prospect of borrowing any considerable amount of money in the U. S. is quite hopeless." To pass a bill here, and send an agent to Europe, giving him time for the necessary inquiries and arrangements to effect a loan on the best terms, and remit the money, will require at least four months, even on the most favorable supposition, and the latest intelligence represents the condition of the money market, both in England and on the Continent, as much depressed. Under these circumstances, a resort to Treasury Notes was indispensable.

It is foreign to any object I have, to inquire by whose fault it is that the country is brought into this. I will barely say, that neither of the two leading parties is in a condition to taunt the other, for while each in its turn flings out its charges of extravagance in expenditure, and a want of statesmanlike acquaintance with the resources and prospects of the country and the causes and cures of public evils, the other may reply with cutting force—"Physician heal thyself." In a word, the manner in which the Van Buren administration spent money and resisted every effort for retrenchment before they were rejected by the people, is only equalled by the manner in which the Harrison and Tyler party have done the same things since; and both are now surpassed by the splendid projects of the John Tyler dynasty as developed in the annual reports of the Executive Departments—which projects, placed in juxtaposition with the actual state of the public treasury and the public credit, may serve as an apt illustration of the skill which now guides the helm of State.

The bill came up in Committee of the Whole on Thursday. Mr. Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, (sometimes called Chairman of the Exchequer,) said he had heretofore—

"Invariably voted against the issue of Treasury notes, and it had been with the greatest reluctance that he had brought himself to consent to the measure. He might be permitted to say, however, that his opposition to it had never rested on any constitutional ground; it had always been directed against the expediency of the policy. He was aware, indeed, that there were some of those opposed to Treasury notes who rested their opposition on the language of the Constitution; and to such gentlemen he now desired to direct a remark or two on that point. This objection, if he rightly understood the case, was founded chiefly on Mr. Madison's report of the proceedings had in the Convention which drew up the Constitution, and from that report it did appear that in the original draft of that instrument a provision had been inserted empowering Congress to borrow money on the security of the United States and to emit bills of credit." A motion was made to strike out these latter words, which gave rise to an animated discussion, resulting in the passage of that clause. It was struck out mainly on the ground that the power was very liable to abuse.

But the power to loan money remained, and the present was only one form of borrowing money. He considered the uniform exercise of this power conclusive as to its constitutionality.

Mr. G. Davis, of Kentucky, said, if these votes were intended for a currency, and the creditor was to be compelled to take them in payment as a currency, they were against the constitution. The public debt could lawfully be paid only in gold and silver. If they were to serve as a loan, why not make a loan, and then pay the public creditors in good money. He said, if money could be borrowed by means of Treasury notes it could be borrowed on stock. The bond of the Government was entitled to at least as high a degree of credit as these Treasury notes; and it was to be preferred, unless indeed the object was to force these notes on the public creditor and let him sell them at a discount for gold and silver. They were, he understood, at a discount of one per cent. now in the New York market, and nobody expected they would bring gold and silver at their par value. The fact was, the Government proposed to issue a paper currency—a new continental paper; and to force this on its creditors; and he thought no Government could stand in a more dishonorable position.

To him it seemed that the present Administration was doing little else than resort to the measures its friends had so strongly reprobated in the last Administration. Mr. D. in his simplicity, had thought there was to be a change of measures as well as a change of men; but he now found the Government falling back into one practice after another for which the late Administration had been denounced so strenuously. And in fact it seemed that, although under a different name, they were the *Loco* focus party in fact. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Wise said, he had been no friend heretofore to Treasury notes. It was only at the last session of the last Congress that he countenanced them at all. When the Government owed a debt and could not pay it, the question was then presented, as it was now, whether they would wait for the restoration of trade, or of revenue re-

sulting from trade, or resort to temporary means until real means could be obtained, or to a high tariff and funded debt; for that was the issue which was then presented and which now arose. The debt they contracted last session had done almost as much to destroy the credit of the Government as the doctrine of repudiation itself. What did they now see? The Government bonds refused in the market. And why? The fact ought to be known and sent to the people. When they were about to fund a debt, and negotiate a loan, they did not negotiate such a loan as it ought to have been. If they intended to have negotiated a loan they ought to have given a sufficient time for it to run. Three years only were given; the loan had entirely failed; the credit of Government was disgraced; and now it would require twice the time that it would have done four or five months ago, to obtain the same amount of money. He had been opposed to the loan, because he had expected or had feared that it would result as it had, and bring disgrace on the credit of this government. It was not his fault that this disgrace now attached to Government. He moved to add another section to the Bill, to repeal the Act for Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands, and apply the revenue to the payment of the public debt. A question of order here arose, and before it was settled, the House adjourned, and the next day became involved in other business.

It is very plain, to my mind, that the affairs of the government are coming to a very critical position in regard to its finances. Owing to the increase of population and of manufacturing skill, and the pressure of the times, it is not practicable to effect a very considerable increase of the revenue from imports, because any considerable increase of duties would be followed at once by an increased production of the same article among ourselves and a diminished consumption of the foreign article. At the same time, it has become well nigh impossible for the government to borrow money in any large amount, at ordinary interest. An issue of Treasury notes will answer for the present exigency, provided no more are issued than the commerce and business of the country will easily absorb for the payment of government dues, and as a medium of exchange; but beyond that, they will depreciate just as certainly as Continental money. Nothing can be made equal in value to money, unless it is made to answer the purposes of money or is made easily and certainly convertible into money. No despotism has ever yet been found strong enough to make an inconvertible currency permanently equal in value to money. Now, the expenses of the government at the present time are far beyond its income. For this present year, the revenue will fall short, it is said, nearly 20 millions of dollars. No politician has yet been found hardy enough to propose the raising of such a sum by direct taxation. It follows that there must be, at no distant day, a radical change of the policy of the government with regard to expense. I cannot tell how or where it is to begin. There does not seem to be any thing in the present race of politicians fitting for such a reform. Both parties have made loud professions in favor of economy and retrenchment, and both in their turn have gone on regularly increasing their ratio of expenditure and extravagance. There must be a new method of government, a new system of transacting business, that will combine more simplicity with energy, a stricter accountability with diminished temptations to plunder, a reduction at once in the number of persons employed and in the salaries of those who are retained. Let it begin with the President of the United States, by bringing him back to his constitutional allowance, of a fixed salary without "any other emolument from the United States or any of them."

Let him live like a citizen, in his own house, and let the palace be appropriated to the public service. Let the members of Congress revise their mileage law, the source of so many frauds. Let a strict statute provision regulate the allowance of per centage to disbursing officers. Let there be a pro rata reduction of all salaries and fees, proportioned to the increased value of money as compared with the times when the salaries were fixed. If this cannot be effected while the seat of government is in a place subject to all the miserable economies of slavery, let either slavery or the seat of government be removed without delay. If the latter, let it go to Cincinnati or some other place, where the competition of free industry will give the government money's worth for its million and a half of yearly disbursement.

A curious, and politically speaking, somewhat startling movement developed itself to-day. The Hon. Garret Davis, a prominent whig member from Kentucky, presented a memorial praying a repeal of the Bankrupt Act, which he moved to be referred to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report a bill repealing that act. There was a good deal of *prattling*, to evade the directness of this onslaught. The whigs of the North did not know what to make of it—they were surprised, almost confounded. They thought it very strange in Senator Benton, who seized the first opportunity to move for the postponement of the time at which it should operate, from the 1st of February to the 1st of July, and they had only denounced it as a sample of *Loco* focus unreasonableness. They knew, too, that some of the "Corporal's Guard," as the John Tyler party in the House are called, were looking with an unfriendly eye upon this Bill. But to see the leading friends of Henry Clay suddenly break out in such a way, was unaccountable—very. The votes on the various preliminary points, such as efforts to lay on the table, to amend, to adjourn, &c., all showed to our Northern Whigs that this was not a hasty impulse but a well prepared movement, and sustained by an inexorable majority, whom no arguments or entreaties could turn from their fixed purpose. I ought to have observed before, that the motion to instruct was followed by an instant demand for the Previous Question, so that all argument or explanation was precluded, except such few words as could be crowded in edgewise among the motions. Besides a call of the House, and the proceedings connected therewith, the years and nays were called six or eight times in disposing of this business. Now, what does all this mean? It will be recollected that, last winter, when the whigs were a minority, Mr. Crittenden and other leading men among them tried very hard to get Congress to pass a Bankrupt Bill, notwithstanding it was the short session. It will then be recollected, that this was not included in Mr. Clay's programme of business for the Extra Session solely, as he said, because there was not time to do it; and that he was finally forced to take it up on compulsion because he found he could not carry his favorite Land Distribution Bill, until he had first passed the Bankrupt Bill. It will be recollected that Mr. Benton and his class of Senators then opposed the Bankrupt Bill solely on the ground that it was not what it purported to be, a *uniform* system, because it did not include corporations, which the Northern whigs were not then prepared to yield; but that the events of the season and the continued refusal of the Southern and Western banks either to pay their notes or to give up business have finally brought the body of the Northern whigs to see that it is the proper thing in the world for a Bankrupt law to extend to *rupt* banks. Now, out of these facts, can any body make a satisfactory explanation of the present move? Mr. Clay is not seen in it at all—course, he is seen in nothing, this session, except his assaults on the constitution. It has been intimated that the present move by his friends in the other House, is simply for the purpose of holding a rod of terror over those Northern Whig Senators who are friendly to a Bankrupt law and yet have indicated some slight tendencies of charity towards President Tyler's Exchequer project. But I think it doubtful whether so great a move can be ascribed to so small an object. It is a complete smashing of the whig party, who have boasted of the Bankrupt law as one of the main pillars of their

strength. If carried, it is generally understood that it will be followed by the repeal of the Distribution law, and the entire undoing of the Extra Session. The very threat of doing it, coming in such an overbearing form, must produce a total rupture of party ties, if there is any faith in the professions of politicians. The N. Y. Courier and Enquirer exclaims in agony, let all go, the tariff, currency, everything, in comparison with the Bankrupt bill. There must be a deeper cause for this more than a mere anxiety to "brand Cap. Tyler," on his Exchequer scheme. Who can fathom this, unless he recognizes among the elements of his calculation the fact, that there exists an *interest* more precious in the eyes of a certain class of statesmen than any party, than any principle of politics, than the consistency of any politician—AN INTEREST which is to be secured at all events, no matter with what sacrifice of any or all other interests—AN INTEREST which may demand, if it will, the violation of our country's honor, the jeopardy of national peace, the dissolution of the Union itself, and not one of its devotees will hesitate at the deed. That is SLAVERY. Now, the establishment of a system of Bankruptcy is an act so expressly within the Constitution that no man dares to object against it, in the abstract, and yet the introduction of a system extending the supervision of the Federal power, Federal legislation and Federal judiciary over the whole business of the country—taken in connection with the spread of abolition principles and the rapid growth of the free North-West, conveys such an impression of nationalization, as makes Slavery tremble in his shoes. And besides, the great mass of debtors in the slave States have found out an easier way to get rid of their debts than even by a Bankrupt law. And in the mean time, the moneyed power has set itself to work the overthrow of this Bankrupt system, as prejudicial to the Banking interest. What so national now, so interesting with all past history, so fit a consummation of such a career, as for Henry Clay to set all these wheels in motion that he may have the opportunity to come forward once more as the head of a new "compromise." The rapid running down of the banks has failed him in the project which Senator Morris so perfectly exposed, for uniting the moneyed interest and the slave interest. What so good a card has he in reserve as this? In short, slavery is at the bottom of it, and our short-sighted politicians will soon find themselves floundering beyond their depths, because they will not examine things to their bottom.

Monday, Jan. 12.

The Senate of the United States has again been the scene of a motley exhibition of the terrific power which the slaveholders acquire over the most of our Northern statesmen. On Monday,

Mr. CALHOUN submitted the following resolution: Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to furnish to the Senate a copy of the officers and crew of the brig *Creole* on her late passage from Richmond to New Orleans, should any such have been received, or any authentic account which may have been received of the murder of a passenger on board and the wounding of the captain and mate by the slaves on board, and of the occurrences which afterwards took place, particularly after the vessel was taken into Nassau, New Providence; and, also, to inform the Senate, if in his opinion it can be done consistently with the public interest, what step has been taken by the Executive in reference to the transaction, having for its object the punishment of the guilty, the redress of the wrong done to our citizens, and the insult offered to the American flag.

This inflammatory and pernicious resolution lay over one day, in course, and on Friday came up in order for its passage, and would doubtless have passed the Senate by a silent or passive vote, had it not been for the railing of one Senator, Mr. Porter of Michigan. Mr. P. had already acquired a good deal of credit for his boldness in questioning the infallibility and incompetence of the slavery on an other occasion of a similar character, in the March 10, 1836, when Mr. Calhoun's resolutions on the Enterprise case came up, and Mr. P. voted alone in favor of his own motion of indefinite postponement.

On the present occasion, he moved to strike out the word "slaves" and insert the word "persons." Had an earthquake shaken the capitol or had Cingue and Madison Washington suddenly presented themselves at the door of the Senate-Chamber, the effect would hardly have been more electrical.

Mr. Calhoun, rose, actually convulsed with the emotions of an enraged slaveholder, and demanded the reason of the motion. Mr. Porter was startled with the *intensity* that was thrown into the interrogatory, but recovering his self-command in an instant, said his only reason was, that slavery is an word unknown to the Constitution, and he thought it better to have the resolution follow the phraseology of that instrument. That was his motive—his only motive.

Mr. Calhoun, (slaveholder,) was sure the real motive could be no other than to deny the right of the South to have property in slaves. If there was more than one man in the Senate prepared to take this ground, he wished to know it.

Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, (slaveholder,) said the right of the South to hold slaves was not a question to be called into controversy, here or elsewhere. If it was the object of the motion to deny that right, he wished to have it known, that the South might be prepared to meet the question in a becoming manner.

Mr. Porter again protested that his only motive was what he had avowed, that he had no such intention as was charged, that neither in the constitution nor in the early legislation of Congress was the word "slave" used, that he only wished to keep the matter precisely in that light and in that position in which the constitution had placed it, and he could not understand why other motives should be imputed to him by distinguished Senators.

Mr. Calhoun, (slaveholder,) rose again with increased fervor of manner, and said that many words were not necessary, but he deemed it time to speak out, and, truly, he did speak out.

He first attacked the framers of the constitution for their needless and unfortunate fastidiousness in regard to the term "slave." It was a great pity, he said, that our ancestors had not possessed the courage to utter, clearly and boldly, the ideas they meant to convey, when they spoke of slaves. (N. B. Perhaps Mr. C. had better propose an amendment to the constitution, to make it plainer. At any rate, it shows the regard which slaveholders have to "the compromises of the constitution," whenever these compromises are resorted to by freemen.) Mr. C. then went on to denounce the *bloodthirsty* disposition manifested at the North in regard to this case of the *Creole*. He then referred to the splendid eulogy of the "Hero-Mutineers," that appeared in the New York Evangelist, a religious paper, and expressed his slaveholding abhorrence of such religion. He denounced the Journal of Commerce for publishing such articles, and warned the South to beware of such papers. He declared he would rather have his resolution rejected, than to strike from it the term "slaves" according to the amendment.—He wished to see what senators were prepared to take sides with Great Britain in such a case, and for this purpose he demanded the yeas and noes, which were ordered.

Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, (slaveholder's hanger-on,) hoped the amendment would be withdrawn. He also regretted that the constitution had not spoken out and used the term "slave" where it meant slaves. He denied that slaves were persons, in any sense; they are

property, and are to be treated as property, and not as persons.

(This open insult to the constitution, and this bold denial of the doctrine of the Supreme Court, as laid down in the Mississippi case last winter, viz, that "the constitution treats slaves as persons," and acts upon slaves as persons and NOT AS PROPERTY," ought to arrest the attention of the free states. It cannot be presumed that learned senators who are slaveholders are ignorant of a decision so much concerns them. Nor was the present course adopted without design. It is to be borne in mind that the Supreme Court commenced its session this week in the room directly under the Senate chamber; that at its last session it made two fearless decrees according to law and in favor of liberty, that there is no way to reach the Supreme Court or reverse its decisions but by impeachment, and that the Senate is the constitutional tribunal for the trial of impeachment. What is this high handed assault upon the constitution and the law, there, a preconcerted scheme to hold the terror of impeachment over the head of the Supreme Court? Let the country be warned in time. Let all eyes be turned to the Supreme Court. If liberty loses that palladium, what has she left? Remember Pickens' infamous attempt to forestall or browbeat the Supreme Court in regard to the Amistad case, which God so signally overthrew.)

Mr. King, of Alabama, slaveholder, twaddled awhile about his astonishment that a Senator of the United States, could reconcile it with his sense of duty to aid the Government of Great Britain, in requiring a term, the effect of which was to rob Southern citizens of rights secured to them by the constitution.

Mr. Porter could not see how using the terms of the constitution should impair any rights that were secured by the constitution. He was taken by surprise, he said, to find that this word "persons," used in the constitution, had always been such a smouldering firebrand, that he was to be charged with fanaticism and even treason for desiring to have the constitutional language adopted by the Senate. He used the term in its constitutional sense, and in no other, and disclaimed all such intentions as had been imputed to him. Congress had adopted the terms of the constitution in the Act respecting fugitives from service, and he did not deem himself chargeable with unfaithfulness to his country for desiring to stand by the constitution.

Mr. Preston, (slaveholder,) thought the caldron did not boil quite hot enough, so he read the Williamsburgh resolutions in full. He said the amendment would destroy all the effect of the resolution. (A full admission that adherence to the constitution is death to slavery.)

Mr. Rives of Virginia, (slaveholder,) did not doubt the sincerity of the Senator from Michigan, but he begged him to bear in mind that what was to him a mere matter of form, was substance to us (the South) and he hoped his friend would not be fastidious in regard to the term slaves. It is true the word is not in the constitution, but it is what is understood by the constitution, as all know. He trusted the senator would not throw his influence on the side of a foreign power.

Mr. Phelps of Vermont, said he should not have said a word, had not the yeas and nays been ordered, (i. e., had not means been taken to make his vote known at home.) He was prepared to vote for the resolution as a mere matter of inquiry. (Regardless of the shocking principles insidiously couched in its language, and of the criminal it makes of the Senate, as a part of the treaty-making power! A statesman, indeed!) In giving his vote, he wished to be understood (i. e., at home) as not committing himself to any particular view of the subject, but simply as extending the proper courtesy to the Senator who introduced the resolution, to let him use his own phraseology. He did not deem it of any importance how the resolution was worded. It used language well understood, both at the South and elsewhere. (This man obtained his election as Senator by a paltry intrigue, and by writing a double-tongued letter, through the influence of party drilling was made to satisfy the members of the Legislature that he honestly held the Vermont doctrine on the subject of slavery. Vermont will now reap the fruit of her folly in placing a parasite of slavery as a representative of Green Mountain Liberty in the Federal Senate.)

Mr. Porter still persisting in his amendment, another tack was tried, to see if the soothing system could not do the business.

Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, (slaveholder,) now put in his voice. He began by a sermon on the importance of union. On a subject like this, we should present an unbroken phalanx. In a matter of so great moment, all party interest should be forgotten. (This shows how slaveholders are prepared to act towards their co-partisans, in every case where slavery is concerned—to sacrifice any other object and every other tie, for the sake of slavery.) He had read the authentic account of the *Creole* affair with the most thrilling interest. It was very creditable to the relation of master and servant that only 19 out of 135 slaves took part in the mutiny. As to what was done by the British civil authorities, he observed it with regret, but he hoped Great Britain would pause before she gave her deliberate national sanction to such enormities. (He forgot the sanction our own government had given to the Amistad revolt.) The only doubt he had as to the resolution was, whether it was not premature, but since it was offered, he was ready to vote for it, although he would have preferred to wait until the Executive had moved first. In regard to the term which the Senator from Michigan had objected against, he thought there was no necessity for so great emotion. It is a term familiar to all departments of the government, to our laws and to our diplomatic correspondence and treaties. He cited the treaty of Ghent as an instance.—He hoped his friend would yield to a respectful and kind request and cease to press his motion, and that it might be withdrawn by general consent.

Mr. Porter again protested as to his motives, but still did not withdraw his motion.

Mr. Graham, of North Carolina, (slaveholder,) said he had taken the trouble to look over the laws passed by Congress and found that the term "slaves" was used in almost all the laws relating to slaves and slavery in any form. He hoped, therefore, that the amendment would be withdrawn.

Mr. Woodbridge, of Michigan, the colleague of Mr. Porter, at length came to the relief of the trembling doughfaces who were shuddering on the brink of such a horrid necessity as that of *receding their votes*, so as either to disgrace their free constituents at home or disoblige their slaveholding masters here. He said he would add his own request to that of his distinguished friend, the honorable Senator from Kentucky, that his respected colleague would withdraw the motion, especially as it did not change the principle of the resolution.

During all this dogmatism and fury by the slavery, it will be observed that Mr. Porter stood his ground alone. Of the 26 Senators from the free states, not one, had taken the part of the constitution and of the country. Looking all around for support, his eye was greeted with not one word, not one look of encouragement and approbation. Yet he stood firm against the most impetuous onset of the slaveholders. He even resisted the beseeching tones of Henry Clay and remained unmoved. But when his own colleague, a venerable man, the late Governor of his state, added his entreaties, the thought of standing alone, in resistance to Gov. Woodbridge's age, character and political standing made him waver. And in that moment of wavering, he acted—he did what he could not undo—he declared he could not but yield to the request of his venerable colleague, and by the unanimous consent of the senate he would withdraw his motion. The Senate of the United States once more drew a long breath and felt better. It was a relief indeed to

Northern Senators to be able to avoid the necessity of either skulking behind the pillars of the senate chamber, or of recording their names, yeas or nays, on this resolution in which, as Gov. Woodbridge observed, no principle was involved. The silence of every other man attested this. It was unanimous assent, and it proved, at least, that there was not another man on the floor who would have done what Porter did, and that had he pushed his motion to the yeas and nays, he would probably have voted alone. The resolution therefore passed without opposition, and goes out to the country, and to Great Britain, and to the Supreme Court of the United States, as the united, nay, the unanimous voice of the American Senate, that the persons on board of the *Creole* were slaves on the high seas, and that the maintenance of British law in a British scrap, even the old Habeas Corpus, is "an insult to the American flag."

It is a matter of more sorrow than surprise, that Mr. Porter's firmness did not prove adequate to so great an emergency. I have no doubt he will live to regret having yielded even to the voice of his colleague. He has lost an opportunity which may not again recur, of earning his name on the obelisk that history shall erect to those who dare to stand by the constitution and the country against the encroachments of the Slave Power. But regrets are now unavailing, both for him and for us; and it remains therefore that we do the next best. What that shall be, must come from wiser heads than mine.—I would suggest, however, that the work must be done in the States and not here. If the Free States are prepared to make good the threats of the Senate, and to go to war with Great Britain for the purpose of making a breach in our own constitution as well as for the protection of the Slave Trade and the overthrow of Habeas Corpus, let them sit still and do nothing. But if they feel for the national honor, let them call their own Senators to account—that not one among them all had one word to say against this most impudent and overbearing procedure to crush the first murmur of dissatisfaction with the Slave rule.

Let Maine settle her account with Senators Williams and Evans, why they did not interfere to prevent this new controversy from being thrust in to postpone the settlement of the Boundary question. Let New Hampshire demand an explanation from Messrs. Woodbury and Pierce. Let Vermont inquire of Prentiss and Phelps, and Massachusetts inquire of Bates and Choate, why they showed themselves so utterly recreant to the spirit of the states they represent and the declared sentiments of the legislatures that elected them.

Let Connecticut ask her Smith and Huntington, and Rhode Island her Dixon and Simmons, whether they believe that men are held as slaves on the high seas under the American flag. Let New York with her extended frontier and her outward commerce, require Senators Tallmadge and Wright to say, whether they think this country is prepared and bound to fight for the purpose of enforcing the slave laws of Virginia among the free islands of the Bahamas.

New Jersey must settle it with Southard and Miller, Pennsylvania with Buchanan and Sturgeon, Ohio with Tappan and Allen, Indiana with Smith and White, Illinois with Young and McKim, and Michigan with Woodbridge and Porter.

But let the country mourn, that we have no Morris now in the Senate.

Mr. Giddings of your state has made the first movement in Congress towards arousing the Federal Government to a proper concern for the wheat growing interests of the North West. On Thursday, he presented a memorial on the subject, which he accompanied by a brief statement of the object in view and its importance, and moved its reference to a select committee. No objection was made, and the reference was ordered. The speaker named as the committee, Mr. Giddings, chairman, W. D. Campbell, Tenn., A. H. H. Stewart, Va., Sollers, Md., Birdseye, N. Y., Baker, Mass., Holmes, S. C., Lewis, Ala., Gustine, Pa.

It will be seen that this great free labor interest is prudently consigned by our slaveholding speaker, to the tender care and supervision of a majority of slaveholders, in open violation of all parliamentary integrity, which requires a measure or an interest to be committed to its friends.—In marked contrast with this selection, we find that when the tobacco interest, a slave product, has three times been referred to a select committee, in every instance such committee has been composed of seven slaveholders and two free representatives, except that once the latter class were allowed three members on the committee. The committees were also selected from those sections that represented constituencies concerned either in the growth or the trade of tobacco. Always two from Maryland and two from Virginia, with one each from Tennessee and Kentucky or Mississippi. The first committee, appointed Jan. 30, 1837, on the memorial of the famous tobacco convention, and of the Maryland Legislature, consisted of Messrs. Jenifer and McKim, Md., Coles and Robertson, Va., Calhoun, Ky., Shields, Tenn., Harrison, Mo., J. R. Ingels, Pa., & Kennon, Ohio. There are not, certainly, more than two or three members of this whole committee that can be regarded as in any way specially concerned in either the growth or the commerce of wheat, or in any other way particularly interested, for themselves or their constituents, in the subject referred to them. I believe, indeed, that the most of them are intelligent and statesmen like enough in their views to appreciate in some measure the importance of the subject, in a national, commercial and financial aspect, and hence, I have reason to hope they will unite in presenting an able report with documentary and statistical information, that will throw light on the subject, so as to aid both the deliberations of Congress, the studies of the political economist and statistician, and the honorable pursuits of the merchant and agriculturalist. But as a specimen of parliamentary address and fairness, the selection is certainly a monument to the ingenuity of speaker White.

I observe that you speak favorably of the petitions of colored seamen to Congress for protection against the tyrannical laws of the slave-states. Why does not this equally concern their colored brethren on our Western waters? Are they not liable to be seized at Natchez, at Concordia, at New Orleans, and thrust into the calaboose, worked in the chain gang, and finally sold into slavery for life, for the crime of color? If they are so, why do they not petition Congress for protection? Is it not the prerogative of Congress to regulate commerce among the several States, and to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States; that "citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." Art. IV, Sec. 2. I think it would be well to have such a petition sent in from Cincinnati, and from other free towns of the West.

JASHER.

NOTICE.

The Liberator is informed that the letter containing a remittance of \$8.

